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ABSTRACT

This paper reports the results of a study of the implementation of multicultural education policy initiatives in Australia. An outline of the study's methods follows brief discussions of the emergence of multicultural education as a policy issue and the context of multicultural education in Australia. To assess the impact of multicultural education in the state of Western Australia, a federally funded small-scale grants scheme was selected as the study's focus. All grantees receiving such funds between 1979 and 1981 were requested in June 1982 to complete a questionnaire related to multicultural education implementation. Data were then analyzed from the returned questionnaires, documentary material, and interviews conducted with a subsample of questionnaire respondents. The ensuing discussion of survey results contains five information tables and covers five distinct areas of concern, including contexts for school-site decision-making and grantees' views of multicultural education. Following the subsequent presentation of survey results, field study results at each of the study's nine elementary and secondary school sites, and a synthesis of field study results, the paper concludes by noting four problems connected with the national implementation of multicultural education policy, including the lack of efficacy of schemes relying on local decision-making. (JBM)

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SCHOOL-SITE DECISION MAKING IN MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION: AN AUSTRALIAN PERSPECTIVE

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MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION AS A POLICY ISSUE

A feature of education systems in many Western countries over the past decade has been a concern with the implementation of programs in multicultural education. Local and particular issues in the United States (Baker, 1979), Canada (Burton, 1981), New Zealand (Barrington, 1983), Sweden (Opper, 1983), Great Britain (Grant, 1983; Male, 1980; McLean, 1983) and Australia (Bullivant, 1982; Smolicz, 1981), have led governments to accept the view that schools can be used to reflect rather than to mask the multicultural reality of society. To give effect to such a view, many governments have engaged in elaborate legislative and policy formulation efforts.

In the United States, for example, Baker (1979) has identified the following legislative efforts that were designed to impact directly on multicultural education: Title IX of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), 1965; the Ethnic Heritage Program Legislation in 1972; Title IV of the 1964 Civil Rights Bill, Title VII of the Emergency School Aid Act, 1972 and Title VII of the 1972 amendments to ESEA. Since 1965 Sweden has used State Commissions of Investigation to report on matters related to the education of immigrants (Opper, 1983). The most recent, a Commission on Migrant Languages and Cultural Heritages in School and Adult Education, was established to suggest ways in which the language and cultural background of immigrants can be used in educational institutions at all levels. The work of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in Canada stimulated the government to adopt officially a policy of multiculturalism (Burton, 1981; Lupul, 1981). The result was the injection of federal funds at the provincial and school site levels for the promotion of multicultural education. Scotland's Consultative Committee on the curriculum set up an

International and Multicultural Education Program to provide multicultural education for all children in an international context (Grant, 1983). At the same time other parts of Great Britain have favoured using legislation such as the Race Relations Act (1976) and the Local Government Act (1966) to assist in creating anti-discriminatory educational programs (Dorn and Troyna, 1982). In Australia, it was the Report of the Review of Post-Arrival Programs (1978) that ushered in a range of legislative initiatives marking government recognition of a multicultural Australia.

At the level of policy creation, therefore, the international community has attempted to come to grips with education in the context of multicultural societies. Yet policy creation has not been viewed by all members of the societies involved as necessarily the most efficacious mechanism to deal with multiculturalism as a structural reality. In Canada (Lupul, 1981; Burton, 1981) and Australia (Bullivant, 1982; Henry and Linegard, 1982) specific criticisms have been made of policy initiatives. More often than not these criticisms are ideological in nature so that Bullivant(1983) has described Australian efforts as "naive and romantic". He has argued that they do nothing to increase the life-chances of ethnic children in the larger society. In a similar manner Lupul (1981) has argued that the policy on multiculturalism in Canada has failed to come to grips with the central issue of power-sharing for ethnic groups. From a philosophical perspective, Pacheco (1977) has pointed out that multicultural education of itself can do nothing for ethnic groups outside of a clear commitment on the part of the larger society to the notion of cultural pluralism, a notion that provides for equal participation in society by all of its members.

Policy creation, therefore, can provide only a limited view of the way in which societies have dealt with issues related to multiculturalism and

and multicultural education. Policy creation needs to be accompanied by an assessment of policy outcomes otherwise only part of the story is being told. Policy creation at best reveals intentions and even these intentions are subject to criticism. Without some assessment of policy outcomes we are left guessing about the extent to which the criticisms are justified and whether the intentions have ever been translated into practice.

Attempts at assessing policy outcomes (especially in the United States) have not met with a great deal of success (Berman and McLaughlin, 1976). Experimental research designs suggested by Coleman (1975) as tools for assessing policy impact have not taken into consideration the process of policy implementation. It was this process that concerned researchers from the Rand Corporation in what has been the most exhaustive study of policy implementation yet conducted. (Berman et al., 1975; Berman and McLaughlin, 1977, 1978, 1979). Although the results of the study need to be interpreted carefully (Datta, 1981 a, 1981 b), and comparisons with other implementation studies indicate conceptual and methodological inconsistencies (Loucks, 1983), the Rand Study remains the most instructive point of departure for considering any study of policy outcomes. In general, the Rand results indicated that the implementation of federal government policy initiatives at the local level varied considerably depending on the people involved, the processes used to assist implementation and organizational needs. Three varieties of implementation were identified: "non-implementation" in which no change took place at all, "co-option" in which changes were made to the policy or product but none were made to the individuals implementing the policy and "mutual adaptation" in which changes took place both in the individual user and to the policy itself. The latter form of implementation has been put forward as the most desirable since it is able to take into account local needs.

The main lesson to be learnt from the Rand Study was the importance of assessing the implementation process since without some knowledge of what actually happens to policy there is little point in evaluating its outcomes. Policy creation might best be seen as an element that is fed into a black box from which a variety of outcomes can be observed. It is the black box, or its contents, that represents the implementation process. That is where the policy is subjected to manipulation and change in the hands of those whose job it is to implement it. Unless the contents of the black box are known, the observed outcomes are incapable of meaningful interpretation.

It seems clear, then, that if we are to understand more fully responses that have been made to the educational issues posed by multicultural societies, we must move beyond the study of policy creation to a concern with the processes of policy implementation and eventually, policy outcomes. This should enable us to come closer to the realities of multicultural education rather than simply dealing with intentions.

A recent study conducted in Australia has attempted to address this issue. From the early 1970s successive Australian governments of different political persuasions have whole-heartedly supported the notion of education for a multicultural society. Their reasons for so doing have not always been consistent (Martin, 1978), yet the fact remains that today, multicultural education is considered at the level of policy to be a legitimate part of the school curriculum. Yet there has been little effort made to assess the extent to which policy has been translated into practice.

The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to report the results of a study concerned with the implementation of national policy initiatives in multicultural education. It is an attempt to deal with practice rather than

theory, with realities rather than intentions. The nature of the sample may limit the generalizability of the results yet the patterns discerned may provide the basis for understanding other contexts at either the national or international level.

THE AUSTRALIAN CONTEXT OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

(Watson, 1979) has grouped countries into three broad categories that help to classify policy approaches to multicultural education. The first category consists of countries that have a deep rooted racial/cultural mix (e.g. USSR, India); the second, countries whose cultural mix is a result of colonialism (e.g. many Asian and African countries); and third, countries that have become multicultural/multiracial as a result of voluntary immigration. Australia, along with the USA, Canada and more recently, many Western European countries, fits into the third category.

The migration policy background to multicultural education in Australia has been reviewed by Atchison (1981). In the post-war period immigration was viewed as an instrument of reconstruction, a means of stimulating economic growth and prosperity. Little thought was given to the social implications of such a policy. Immigration controls were officially lifted in 1958 and by 1966 assimilation was no longer official government policy. The election of the Labor Government in 1972 witnessed even greater support for these trends and "multiculturalism" became the catch-cry of the government's approach to immigration policy. Behind the slogan, however, was the clear recognition that population policy and national need were closely linked. "Multiculturalism" became the mechanism by which the social consequences of such a policy were explained and, by one Minister at least, extolled.

On the education front, the consequences of immigration policy were dealt with in a piecemeal fashion. While assimilation was official government policy, very little was done to cater for the educational needs of new settlers since it was expected that they would very quickly become part of their new community. Eventually it was recognized that if the English language skills of migrant children could be up-graded this would facilitate their transition into Australian society. The Immigration (Education) Act of 1971 attempted to deal with this situation by creating the Child Migrant Education Program. The function of this program was broadened when new funding arrangements were made with the States in 1976. The State Grants (Schools) Amendment Act provided general funds to the States for migrant and multicultural education. Language training programs were continued but additional programs for either ethnic or Australian children could also be funded. This trend towards more broadly based programs of multicultural education was supported by the Report of the Review of Post Arrival Programmes and Services for Migrants (1978). Recommendation 45 of the Report (often referred to as the Galbally Report on account of its Chairperson, Mr. Frank Galbally) represented the major initiative in the area of multicultural education. The Federal Government was advised to allocate five million dollars to multicultural education over the next three years.

Recommendation 45 had been formulated against a background of previously unco-ordinated, and in the view of some, inadequate provisions for multicultural education. The Report argued that educators seemed apathetic and in some cases obstructionist despite the support that had been given to multicultural education by the Commonwealth Schools Commission since 1975. There was no clear delineation as to what multicultural education ought to be and a lack of clarity over concepts and perspectives. Multicultural

education was seen as an area in need of expert attention at all levels of education.

The Galbally Report also articulated a clear view concerning the nature and purpose of multicultural education. Australia was described as a multicultural, multilingual and multireligious society that faced the prospect of inevitable friction, tension and divisiveness. It was argued that these problems could be overcome if it were recognized that all groups in society have a right to their own racial and cultural identity. The promotion of ethnicity and ethnic consciousness was seen as a means of reducing tensions and enabling ethnic groups to enter their new society with more confidence and with a sense of purpose. At the same time, ethnic identity was not stressed at the expense of the broader society and it was envisaged that a common core of Australian identity would be developed. Schools were seen as a key element in achieving this goal. Educational programs reflecting the cultural and racial differences present in Australian society would provide children with access to each others cultural values and traditions. These would serve the purpose of fostering pride in ethnic heritage and promoting multicultural understanding.

The implementation of Recommendation 45 was by no means an easy task. The complexities of Australia's Federal system of government necessitated the setting up of a committee to consult with State and Independent school systems and appropriate Federal bodies. Its purpose was to determine how the funds recommended for multicultural education could be most effectively used over the recommended three year period. The Committee's report, entitled Education for a Multicultural Society (1979) recommended triennial funding through the Commonwealth Schools Commission. The bulk of funding (86%) was to be provided for a Multicultural Education Program and of this,

20% was to support a small scale grants scheme and 9% was to be provided for the appointment of ethnic school liaison officers. The remainder of the funding was to be used to support Projects of National Significance and multicultural education initiatives supported by the national Curriculum Development Centre and the Education Research and Development Committee.

The allocation of funds for each State was determined on a per capita basis of total student population (public and private schools). In each State funds were to be administered by a Multicultural Education Co-ordinating Committee representing education authorities and ethnic communities. Thus the Federal initiative taken in multicultural education was mediated by the States reflecting the fact that education is constitutionally a State and not a Federal concern.

THE STUDY

Against this background a study was conducted in one Australian state, Western Australia. Its purpose was to assess the extent and nature of multicultural education at the school-site level and to portray the decision-making processes related to the design and implementation of multicultural education programs. The small scale grants scheme that provided funds up to one thousand dollars for school based projects was selected as the focus for the study.

Methods

Sample

In the period from 1979-1981 the Western Australian Multicultural Education Advisory Committee (WAMEAC) awarded 230 small scale grants to public and private schools in Western Australia. All grantees were contacted by mail in June, 1982 and requested to complete a questionnaire related to the project they had undertaken. A second request was sent to all non-respondents one month later. The result was a 71% response rate.

When the sample was stratified according to years there was a response rate of 56% for 1979, 73% for 1980, 73% for 1981. It was assumed that this sample was adequate to provide responses that could be generalized to the total population. Subsequently, a sub-sample was chosen to be interviewed and this consisted of approximately 6% of the total number of school-sites receiving grants. Sites included elementary and secondary public and private schools.

Data Collection

Three main sources of data were used :

1. Documentary material including the original applications made by grantees and WAMEAC's responses to them, guidelines for applicants provided by the Committee; and a number of general statements and reports that had been prepared in relation to the operation of the Committee.

2. Questionnaire responses from a large sample of grantees (71%).

3. Interviews conducted with a sub-sample of those who responded to the questionnaire.

Instruments

A questionnaire was constructed with sixteen questions, twelve of which were closed and four were open ended. The questions sought information on the implementation characteristics of the projects (who implemented them, in what context, with what support and with what resulting level of use?) and the impact of the projects (who was influenced, in what way and to what extent?)

A structured interview schedule was designed based on the model provided by Loucks, Newlove and Hall (1975). Its purpose was to assess what grantees had actually done with the projects at the school-site level.

Data Analysis

Three main methods were used :

Content analysis of all documents was carried out to yield profiles of grantees, their reasons for making applications and their stated intentions.

Statistical analysis using a range of descriptive statistics was applied to the questionnaire responses for which a coding framework was constructed.

Logical analysis of audio-taped interviews was carried out and written up as a record of interview. Interview records were then examined to identify similarities and differences across school-sites.

Results and Discussion

Survey Results

1. Schools Targeted by the Small Scale Grants Program

   The most important characterstic of the multicultural education small scale grants program as a policy instrument is the autonomy it provides for local-level decision making. While mandated programs attempt to ensure full compliance to a specific policy this is not the case with the small scale grants program. Individual schools must make a decision to apply for funds on the basis of a specific proposal. The extent to which schools do this can be taken as an indication of policy impact. Table I indicates in a preliminary way the impact of the small scale grants program on promoting multicultural education at the school-site level:

Insert Table I about here

The number of applications received represented 160 actual school sites when multiple applications or applications in sequential years to the same site were taken into consideration. There was a consequent reduction in the number of schools in which programs were actually implemented to approximately 112 or 10% of all schools in Western Australia.

Numbers, of course, do not tell the whole story. Schools that made decisions to apply for funds were either in the State or Catholic school systems with only 0.6% of grants being made to Independent schools. While the number of schools receiving grants remained low in comparison to the total number of schools in the State, the increasing number of grants made each year suggests that the program increased its influence over time.

Another way of broadening the picture of schools that did receive small scale grants is to examine the ethnic density ratios (EDR) of the schools involved. EDR has been defined as "the percentage of students in a school with non-English speaking backgrounds". (Kennedy and McDonald, 1982) and can be determined on a scale ranging from low (0-25%) to very high (76-100%). Applied to schools that responded to the questionnaire, this definition produced the following pattern of ethnic density:

Insert Table 2 about here

These results indicate two main characteristics of project schools. First, there was a range of EDR in the total sample of schools and this range is more pronounced in Catholic schools than State schools. In the latter, there was a cluster of low-medium EDR while in the former there was a cluster of medium-high EDR. Second, multicultural education programs have been implemented in schools that contain students from both English speaking and non-English speaking backgrounds. Thus, it seems that in schools which applied for grants and were successful, multicultural education was seen as an element in the curriculum that was important for all students.

In general, then, the impact of a policy instrument such as small scale grants was not significant in terms of the number of schools taking advantage of it to implement programs of multicultural education. Yet in schools that did take advantage of it, provision was being made for a significant range of students in line with the recommendations made in the original Galbally Report. At the same time the yearly growth in funding applications and approvals over the three year period (1979-1981) suggested that the program was achieving more recognition as a useful device for schools concerned with multicultural education.

2. The Context for School-Site Decision Making

Curriculum decisions are always context bound. Policies, personnel and the working environment of the school combine to exert an influence of one kind or another on the kinds of decisions that are made. While it is not possible to indicate causal connections

between these variables, it is possible to describe in general terms the school contexts in which decisions were made concerning multicultural education programs.

School level policies help to articulate the philosophical framework in which schools operate. Yet only a little more than half the schools from which grantees came had a school policy on multicultural education. The advantages of having a policy are that the aims of projects can be co-ordinated with school level aims and a greater number of the school community might be encouraged to support the project if it is seeking to implement such aims. The task of developing school policy on multicultural education is obviously perceived as being important for while 48% of schools did not have a policy, 34% of grantees indicated that one aim of their project was to assist the school in developing such a policy. Policy development is perhaps a long range process that schools will be more equipped to handle after their initial experiments with multicultural education have been assessed.

The actual people who make decisions - in this case teachers - are perhaps the most important elements in the decision making process. One of the most outstanding characteristics of teachers in this sample was their breadth of experience. 69% of them had been teaching for more than six years, 53% more than eleven years and 35% more than sixteen years. Thus if experience is a factor that leads to successful projects then success was assured. Yet experience did not seem to be a barrier to learning since 80% of grantees reported that as a result of the project their own awareness about multicultural education had been increased to some degree and they had become more confident about working in the area. These are

important perceptions, for in the end it is the teacher in the classroom who is the ultimate decision maker and if she/he does not feel comfortable about the content then it will not be included in the curriculum.

The working environment of the school is important in encouraging staff cohesiveness. The majority of grantees (62%) indicated that they preferred to work with other staff in implementing their projects. The actual size of project teams varied but 52% of the projects involved up to half the school staff and about one third of the projects involved more than 75% of the staff. Team work such as this creates a school environment in which there is likely to be a greater sense of commitment on the part of staff to whatever program is developed. Teachers working on their own (and this accounted for 38% of projects) are more likely to feel isolated in their efforts. Creating in schools an environment of commitment and ownership of multicultural education may well assist in making it a school phenomena rather than a classroom phenomena. Such a proposition,however, remains to be tested empirically.

3. Views of Multicultural Education Expressed by Grantees

In making application for funds, schools were asked specifically to identify the multicultural nature of their projects. An examination of successful applications indicated three outcomes that were seen as multicultural in nature: language development, cultural awareness and cultural appreciation. The range of multicultural outcomes is shown in Table 3.

Insert Table 3

Approximately 19% of the projects were concerned with language development of one kind or another. Of these, the majority (48%) were concerned with community languages with the remainder equally divided between English as a Second Language and International Languages such as French and German. It was of some interest to note the growth of community language development even though it represented a small growth area (9.2%) in terms of total projects funded. Yet Language development was not the main thrust of multicultural education programs. It has to be remembered, however, that there have been alternative sources of funding for English as a Second Language and that language education in general has suffered a decline in Australian schools. In practical terms, this means there are fewer people in the schools either capable of or willing to develop language programs, important as they may be.

As indicated in Table 3, the large majority of projects were concerned with promoting cultural awareness amongst students. Yet 'cultural awareness' was not a unitary construct. There were two dimensions: cultural maintenance, a concern with maintaining an individual's culture, and cultural expansion, becoming aware of the culture of others. Approximately 25% of the projects that had cultural awareness as an outcome were concerned with promoting in students an awareness and appreciation of their own cultural background (that is, assisting students to maintain their own culture). The remainder of the projects were concerned with promoting an awareness of cultures other than that of the students (that is, assisting the students to expand their cultural horizons). This was obviously an important distinction in the minds of teachers as they prepared

their applications for funding and it is probably one that could be explored at greater length. It needs to be pointed out, however, that such clear cut distinctions could not always be made between project outcomes. In many cases (approximately 33%) projects could be classified as having both cultural maintenance and cultural expansion as an aim.

A small percentage of projects were concerned with promoting what was defined as cultural appreciation. This category was distinguished from cultural awareness because it consisted of exposing children to events such as ethnic dancing or displays from groups brought into the school. It was characterized by passive rather than active involvement on the part of students and accounted for a relatively small proportion (approximately 5%) of the total number of projects.

Teachers did not make decisions about the outcomes of their projects without reference to guidelines provided by the Committee. These, however, were broad as indicated by the following extract from a 1981 advertisement concerning the availability of funds :

> Projects should aim to increase understanding between people and to facilitate the development of some or all of the following :
>
> * An appreciation of the multicultural reality of Australian Society throughout its history.
>
> * Attitudes, beliefs and values appropriate for living in a multicultural society.
>
> * An individual's identity and sense of personal worth as a member of a specific ethnic group in a multicultural

and

* An awareness of the contribution that all ethnic groups, including one's own, can continue to make to the development of Australia.

It seems clear that within this broad framework teachers moved freely in selecting those aims, and hence potential outcomes that were appropriate for students in their schools. For teachers at the school-site level, the opportunity to develop programs of multicultural education has provided the opportunity to assist students in having positive feelings about their own culture and the culture of other people. In this sense, multicultural education has been conceived of primarily in psycho-social terms. It is seen largely as a means of contributing to the personal well being of individuals and hopefully to cohesiveness for the larger society. It acknowledges diversity and seeks to incorporate it as an accepted part of the everyday experience of students. In doing so, schools have been at one with the aims of the State-level committee and the original aims put forward by the Galbally Report.

4. Operationalizing Multicultural Education on the School Site

Educational programs can be delivered into classrooms by a variety of means: teacher talk, textbooks, audiovisual material, or a combination of these, as is most often the case. In applying for funds, teachers had to make decisions indicating how the multicultural outcomes of their projects were to be achieved. An examination of successful applications indicated that five distinct project formats could be identified: The range of formats is shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4 about here 19

The large majority of grantees (more than 60%) selected books and non-print materials such as audio visual and multimedia kits as the means by which they could best achieve their desired outcome. A smaller although significant number (27%) chose to organize events such as international days and food-tasting days. The remainder either bought equipment or paid salaries.

A majority of projects (59%) selected two types of delivery format. Of these 90% required both books and non-print materials. The remainder sought equipment and non-print materials. A small number of projects (8%) used three formats with the emphasis on books, non-print material and equipment.

It seems clear from these figures that teachers have identified the collection of resources, either books or non-print materials, and the organization of multicultural events as the most important ways of promoting multicultural education as a psycho-social phenomena in schools. Whether they are the most effective ways is a subject for further study. While resources in themselves do not make multicultural education programs they are obviously seen as being important by teachers. In this sample, at least, resources are identified as the most significant means of operationalizing multicultural education in classrooms.

5. Perceptions of School-Site Use of Products

The articulation of a view of multicultural education and the collection of resources to operationalize that view tell us how schools viewed the implementation of multicultural educational programs. A further aspect to consider is the extent to which those programs were actually used.

Table 5 indicates grantees' perceptions of the level of use of their projects.

Insert Table 5 about here

Keeping in mind the limitations of self reported data on matters such as this, there is an indication that the original intentions for a number of projects underwent some change. Such changes are probably to be expected given the complex organizational nature of schools. In some cases the changes meant that programs were used more than anticipated, sometimes by an interested colleague who saw someone else using it or because the librarian had been particularly good at promoting the program and its resources. At the other end of the spectrum there was uncertainty about the level of use and this was often because the grantee had moved to another school, and so no longer had access to the program. Finally, there are the situations where programs are not used at all. According to these data, such situations were limited yet they did occur. The original grantee was moved away, school aims changed, the teacher was transferred to another class; these were all given as explanations. The one thing they all have in common is the teacher. By his/her presence or absence, or by a response to changes in school policy, an immense influence is exerted on the curriculum. The implementation of multicultural education was subject to this influence, sometimes positively and sometimes negatively, and it will be further considered later in the paper.

Summary of Survey Results

The results of the survey indicated that small scale grants as a policy instrument exerted limited impact in terms of the total number

of schools taking advantage of it to design and implement school-based projects in multicultural education. In those schools that did take advantage of it (approximately 10% of the total number of schools in Western Australia) the psycho-social aims of multicultural education were emphasized in accordance with policy guidelines at both State and Federal levels. A range of students was catered for including both ethnic and Anglo Australians. There was a concern for assisting both groups to understand and appreciate their own culture and the culture of others. The best way of doing this was seen to be through resource collection. Teachers themselves played a pivotal role in the projects, preferring to work in groups or at the whole school level, although a number worked alone in implementing their projects. In addition, teachers played an important role in determining the extent to which projects were actually used on the school-site. Sometimes this resulted in more use of the project than was originally anticipated and at others, in less use. Three main points can be made concerning these results.

First, the adoption of psycho-social aims for multicultural education and the inclusion of all children in multicultural education programs was consistent with policy intentions at both State and Federal levels. The Galbally Report recommended these approaches and the Western Australian Multicultural Education Advisory Committee (WAMEAC) added further support with its funding guidelines. Such aims, of course, have been criticized for their inability to effect structural change for ethnic students (Bullivant, 1982). Nevertheless, they represent the basis on which multicultural education has been premised in Australia. The aims may be limited with respect to the larger society but for some teachers at least, they have become a means of creating multicultural

awareness in classrooms. The survey results clearly indicate that concerns linked with a broader referent such as society, await a vehicle other than multicultural education. The results should not detract from the work of teachers and students in schools. Rather, they should be seen as providing a context in which that work can be appreciated.

Second, the limitations of small scale grants as a policy instrument emerges as one of the most significant aspects of the study. Recent studies have actively encouraged local decision-making as a means of promoting successful policy implementation (Berman and McLaughlin, 1976; Aitken and House, 1981). Yet in this study such an approach resulted in only 10% of schools taking advantage of it. From the school-site level, it would seem the desirability of local decision-making is not readily apparent.

This may well be an artefact common to Western Australian schools where centralized curriculum decision-making is an accepted part of the education system (at least for public schools). In this context, multicultural education is not a part of any prescribed syllabus. Rather, it is meant to be taught "across the curriculum". Teachers must firstly be committed enough to infuse multicultural elements into the curriculum and then see the need for a small scale grant to assist them with this task. This process seemed to demand a level of local decision-making which the majority of teachers in Western Australia were not prepared to undertake.

A note of caution should be sounded at this point. The fact that the majority of teachers were not involved in local decision-making by applying for a small scale grant should not be taken to mean that

multicultural education programs were limited to schools identified in this study. The infusion process can, and does, take place without additional funds. Even in the context of this study it is possible to identify potential multicultural education programs from among unsuccessful applicants for funding who may have gone ahead without funds to design and implement their programs. Unfortunately, it was not possible to follow up this aspect of the study. The main point to make is that small scale grants were seen as relevant in only 10% of schools.

The third point is related to organizational structures within schools. The stability of programs seemed to be related to a number of organizational factors. Where teachers moved from schools or from specific classes, the programs tended to have a short life. On the other hand, where programs were promoted in schools by teachers or the teacher-librarian, they tended to be used more. These are important processes to understand in any attempt to assess the impact of the program. The results of the survey only suggest the organizational relationships involved and further consideration of them would seem warranted.

Field Study Results

Site 1 (A metropolitan, elementary, public school)

This school had identified the collection of resources on multicultural education for both teachers and students on the main emphasis of their projects. For teachers, it had been mainly books that provided either background knowledge on multicultural education or teaching suggestions and ideas. Student material was also mostly books that had been placed in the library for access by students.

The actual collection of resources was not as simple a task as it might seem. Time delays between the ordering and receiving of books, lack of knowledge regarding suppliers, problems of identifying the most appropriate books; the time span between writing the actual submission and the arrival of books in the school; lack of time provided for working on the project. These were mentioned as specific problems.

The teachers interviewed had not undertaken any systematic evaluation of their project. They felt students were gaining the most benefit since the books in the library were being used. In their own words, "It is more difficult for staff to change".

Site 2 (A metropolitan, elementary, private school)

This school was awarded three grants. All of them were concerned with the collection of print and non-print resources. Two of the grants focused on the collection of resources for the library while the third was directed specifically at assisting Italian students maintain their mother tongue while introducing other students to a second language.

The grants aimed at the collection of library resources experienced the problem of waiting for orders to arrive, but apart from that, proceeded well. Books in languages other than English were placed in the library and a slide-tape presentation describing the multicultural nature of the school was in production.

The grant designed for language instruction did not have such a stable history. The books needed were difficult to obtain and in the end the money was used to employ a mother to work with students producing an Italian play. Eventually, the play was presented to the whole school. The grantee felt that the use of the money in this way was justifiable since the activity served a similar end as the original.

Site 3 (A metropolitan, elementary, private school)

The unique characteristic of this school was its designated role as a regional resource centre for multicultural education. Its application for grants was premised on this role. Resource collection was the centre's main function. An inspection of the centre indicated that a wide range of resources had been gathered, many of them quite new. The centre was placed in a large room in a newly completed administration building and teachers had open access to it. The main comment from teachers, however, was that this location was not a favourable one. Previously, the centre had been located more closely to classrooms and teachers perceived that it was used much more at that time. There was considerable agreement that in its present location, the centre was under-utilized.

In terms of its use as a regional centre, there was again considerable agreement that it was rarely used by teachers from other schools. The centre was not staffed in any way so that if teachers did come, it was difficult to borrow material and there were few facilities for using the material in the centre.

Site 4 (Metropolitan secondary, public school)

Three grants had been awarded to this school for quite separate activities: the construction of a kit of materials using Christmas as a theme and focusing on eight separate cultures, the collection of books with a multicultural theme for the library and the staging of a special Indian dinner. A school administrator explained that there was no co-ordinated approach to multicultural education but the Principal was willing to encourage and support staff initiatives.

The development of the materials was carried out by one teacher in her own time and there was no consultation with other staff members. The materials had been used in the school and also in a local private elementary school. The weakness of the activity was seen to be the difficulties involved in promoting the kit once it was constructed. This needed to be done within the school to inform other teachers about the kit but also more widely. An approach had been made to a commercial publisher but with no results.

The collection of library books was carried out by the teacher-librarian. She saw the funds as a means to expand the resource collection by including books, particularly fiction, with multicultural content. She had been motivated to apply for the grant because of her library experience, the poverty and smallness of the school and the fact that one third of the school came from non-British backgrounds. The impact of the books was difficult to judge. Borrowing in the fiction area had increased. The books had been particularly useful for Social students and lower school students.

The Indian dinner was organized by an individual teacher who had a special commitment to multicultural education. She herself had an Indian background and she was anxious to share that with students. The funds she was given were used exclusively for the dinner and there was no attempt to integrate the activity into a broader set of learning experiences. The dinner proved popular and the teacher felt that students had enjoyed it.

Site 5 (District, secondary school)

The secondary teachers were the main people involved in multicultural education at the school. A Home Economics teacher had applied for funds that would assist her to implement the multicultural education strand of the new Home Economics syllabus. She had used the money to bring community people into the classroom to talk about different kinds of food and customs. This would have been done any way except the teacher would have paid for it herself. This teacher was quite sceptical about the opportunity for contact with teachers in the elementary school. She was often asked for advice about food preparation etc. but was hesitant to give it to people who were not 'trained'.

The second teacher was an administrator as well as the teacher-librarian. Her purpose in applying for a grant was to build up a collection of resource materials and motivate staff to implement multicultural education programs. She did not feel that she had been successful at doing this. Materials were slow to arrive (a particular problem for this rural school) and there was a high staff turnover. This made it very difficult to establish stable programs or even to ensure that those teachers who showed an interest one year would be in the school the following year.

Another teacher attached to the primary school had been designated the 'migrant education' teacher. Her role was to tutor twelve students in a language development program. She did not see herself playing any role in multicultural education or in the secondary school. In her view, multicultural education was handled by the administrator referred to above.

Site 7 (Rural, secondary, private school)

This school had applied for a number of grants over the three year period to establish and maintain a Multicultural Education Resource Centre. Funds were spent on buying books and audio-visual resources for use not only within the school but to surrounding schools as well.

The resource collection was housed in a small room in the school and one teacher was given primary responsibility and an allocation of time to look after it. She maintained contact with teachers on site as well as with a range of elementary private schools in the district. Since the teacher given this responsibility has no library training she was assisted by the teacher librarian.

The teacher in charge of the collection spends a good deal of her time off the school sites. Her purpose is to service the needs of a number of local schools with resources from the Centre. While this situation was viewed cautiously by the teacher librarian ("often kids go to find her and the door is locked") it is obviously and important fuction in terms of encouraging the actual use of the materials.

The utility of this servicing approach wad demonstrated when interviews with teachers in surrounding schools were held. These teachers indicated how the Resource Centre worked for them. They did not have to visit the secondary school (a daunting task for most of them) but they were well informed about the contents of the Centre through a newsletter. If they were planning a topic they simply had to phone the secondary school and place their orders for specific resources with the teacher-in-charge. She would arrange for them to be gathered together and would then deliver the books to the teacher. Alternatively, teachers at surrounding schools could leave lists of needed resources in their staff rooms that were visited regularly by the secondary resource teacher.

While a considerable amount of time was spent off site, teachers on site were also well serviced. Between the teacher-librarian and the resource teacher, needs seemed to be well catered for. Subject area teachers in Social Studies, English and Integrated Studies had all made use of the Centre.

Site 8 (Rural, elementary, private school)

This school was included in the field studies because of its relationship to the Resource Centre located on Site 7. It had not itself applied for a grant but was serviced by both the resources and the teacher from the Centre.

Material had been used across a number of curriculum areas including Social Studies and reading, and in the development of Italian language guidelines. Customs from different countries had been studied including religion and cooking. Music and art work had also been studied with an emphasis on different cultures.

A special activity had been held for "Universal Children's Day". This became a community event involving a local church and parents. Students experienced a variety of cultural activities including demonstrations from an aboriginal group. The school staff had been responsible for organizing this with the help of the resource teacher.

Site 9 (Rural, secondary, private school)

Multiple grants had been awarded to this site based on applications from a number of teachers. In each application a similar theme had been described - a desire to assist students both understand and appreciate their Anglo-Celtic heritage. This was a unique theme based on an assessment of the ethnic characteristics of the school.

The first teacher interviewed was the initiater of the Celtic Studies theme. An art teacher with an obvious Celtic background, she had become interested in her own ethnic heritage and had gone to great lengths to learn about the history and culture of that heritage. She became particularly interested in aspects of it that could be applied to art education (eg jewellery making). Sensing that the majority of students in the school had a similar background to hers she preseed forward with an application for funding to promote art activities that would assist students understand their heritage more completely. She was also influenced by the extent to which multicultural education seemed to be directed at cultures other than Celtic. In this sense, she also sought to introduce balance to multicultural studies.

A second grantee had applied for selected literature texts to be placed in the library. His motivation for doing so was not the same as the first teacher's. As the rest of the staff became interested in multicultural education he was asked what his contribution would be. As an English teacher it seemed natural for him to apply for literature resources that would expand the library and contribute to his own particular area of interest. In both gathering the specific title and actually using them he had experienced some problems. He had only spent about two thirds of the money as some titles were not available and he had not had time to read reviews of all the books he had requested. Those books that had arrived were not yet in the library. He had kept them in his own classroom so that students could have easier access to them. While he thought this was a preferable strategy he was concerned about the future use of the books.

The third grant that had been applied for had three purposes: to purchase reference material for a teachers' resource centre, to contribute to the travel costs of a teacher who was to consult with specialists in a metropolitan center concerning Aboriginal education and to purchase data base software.

The purposes of this project have been completely changed. The school had purchased a new computer so funds were diverted from this project to purchase data base software for it. Despite this change, the teacher felt that the original aims of the project could still be achieved. The outcome of the project was to be a personalized study guide providing information about the resources of the school. The study guide was to be used by low achievers, non-verbal children or children whose primary language was not English. By providing easily accessible information for these groups it was hoped that their study could be more directed and specific. An initial start had been made in Social Studies but it was envisaged that other subject areas could eventually be included.

Site 10 (Metropolitan, secondary, private school)

Two grants had been awarded to this school, one for a multicultural dancing project and the other for a multicultural meal. The school has a high ethnic density ratio (60% of students are of Italian origin). The purpose of the projects was to help students become aware that Australia is not monocultural and for students to take a pride in their own cultural heritage.

The dancing project involved students in learning folk dancing from six different cultural or national groups. The culmination of the project was a social evening for parents when the dances were performed.

The multicultural meal involved students in the French and Italian classes. Activities included the translation of recipes, the construction of a recipe book and the preparation of a meal for parents, students and staff.

The teacher involved was considered to be the "multicultural teacher" in the school. The role eventuated from her activities as the English as a Second Language teacher. She experienced some conflict concerning both roles and felt that multicultural activities suffered because of it. Other teachers in the school tended to leave it all to her since multicultural education was seen to be her responsibility.

For the next funding period, the teacher had applied for another grant. This time it was in the area of comparative religions. She thought it would be good to try something different. She had also been told that it might not be possible to get funding for another multicultural meal.

Synthesis of Field Study Results

The field study results provide a picture of the small scale grants scheme as one affected by the limitations and frustrations of complex work environments. Lack of time, lack of collegial support, lack of co-ordinated school efforts, difficulties in negotiating with external organizations, difficulties in implementing programs exactly as planned: these factors were identified as those that hindered the implementation of multicultural education programs. None of these factors, however, seemed to be so serious as to prevent implementation altogether. In one form or another, programs were devised as teachers reacted to local and particular circumstances. A number of points can be made in relation to these general observations.

First, significant changes were often made to programs after funding had been approved. In most cases these represented decisions made by teachers concerning the viability of the original proposal. Circumstances in the school had often changed by the time the grant was made or difficulties arose in obtaining the required resources. These situations often led to

frustrations on the part of teachers so that changing the original intention was seen as the only way to continue with the program.

Second, the great burden for multicultural education seemed to be placed on individual teachers within schools. There seemed to be few co-ordinated efforts or structures in schools to support such efforts. Even in schools that had multiple grants there was little co-ordination. Principals seemed willing to encourage individual efforts without the necessary organizational support. This often led to frustrations on the part of teachers who could see their efforts being dissipated.

Third, a significant contrast seemed to emerge between the role of resource collection and the role of the resource teacher. The former in itself did not guarantee successful multicultural education programs or even that resources would be used. On the other hand, where teacher needs were serviced by both resources and the assistance of a resource teacher, there seemed to be more evidence of success. This certainly appeared to be true if level of activity within schools could be taken as a criterion. Resource teachers were able to promote their goods and assist teachers with specific plans in an on-going manner.

Given these issues, the field study results both reinforced and extended the survey results. Issues such as the psycho-social nature of multicultural education, lack of school policies on multicultural education and multicultural education for all students were strongly reinforced by the field work. The frustrations of individual teachers, changes made to funding proposals, and the important role teachers have to play in encouraging use of resources were highlighted. In general, the field

studies provided a more dynamic picture of what was actually happening at the school site level. They were able to indicate the operational problems of the small scale grants scheme as well as highlight some of its successes.

Conclusions

This study has indicated how national policy on multicultural education is being implemented in one Australian state. Through the examination of a single policy instrument, a small scale grants scheme, it has been possible to assess directly the impact of Federal government initiatives in multicultural education. A number of points can be made concerning the results.

First, there has been a reluctance on the part of teachers in Western Australia to take advantage of the scheme. Only ten percent of schools over a three year period availed themselves of funds. Thus, as a policy instrument, small scale grants have not effected widespread inclusion of multicultural education in the curriculum. It has to be remembered that the small scale grants' scheme depended entirely on the initiatve of individual schools. Thus, the efficacy of schemes that rely solely on local decision-making can be questioned. At the same time, the fate of centrally imposed policy initiatives is also well known. A balance needs to be struck between imposing central initiatives and encouraging local initiatives. Support mechanisms need to be developed between central and local agencies to encourage local decision-making. It is manifestly unfair to place the burden on schools without providing a means to assist them to incorporate the added role expectation into their structure. Helping schools define local issues before applying for funds would seem to be an important starting point. After that, the provision of funds may serve a more useful purpose directed at the whole school community.

Second, the problems of curriculum change are highlighted by this study. Simplistic solutions such as "principal support for the change" are clearly inappropriate. Any change that is to take place in a school may well need the support of the Principal but that support in itself does not guarantee that the change will be successful. The organization of the school is too complex to consider single solutions to perceived problems. Indeed, perhaps it is unwise to continue thinking of schools in organizational terms - perhaps they are better thought of in terms of the individuals, teachers and students,who inhabit them. Organizational solutions may not be tapping the real problems experienced by individuals.

Third, while idealogues may argue about the purposes of multicultural education and its role in removing structural inequalities from the larger society, teachers in this study have not seen themselves involved in that debate. They have been happy to accept policy guidelines that view multicultural education primarily in psycho-social terms. Any why not? Their focus is on students and classrooms and the day to day realities of school life. If they can make a contribution to these, they are fulfilling an important role. The activities designed for multicultural education may seem to some to be lacking in depth yet they play an important role in the lives of both teachers and students.

Finally, it can be argued that national policy on multicultural education in Australia is impacting on schools. It may not be doing so in a form acceptable to everyone or on as wide a scale as might have been hoped. Yet schools have been influenced. The results of this study have indicated both the difficulties and successes of multicultural education programs at the school-site level. They reflect the general issues related to curriculum change and raise questions about the utility of relying on

local decision-making to bring about such change. This is not to suggest that centralized decision-making would have better results. Rather, it suggests the importance of seeking to understand the individual teacher and the role he/she plays in the change process. In this study, that role was crucial: teachers decided whether or not to apply for a grant, what form the proposed project was to take and what changes would be made once the project was under way. More attention needs to be focused on the role of the teacher as the policy mediator, the one who makes the final decision. It is just such a role that seems to determine the success or failure of policy initiatives. It may be that too much attention has been paid to organizations and not enough to individuals within the organizations. The results of the present study certainly suggest this might be the case and it would seem a profitable direction for further research.

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Table 1: Funding Applications and Approvals for Multicultural Education Small Scale Grants, 1979-1981

Year	Applications	Approvals
1979	36	15
1980	95	49
1981	161	99
Total:	292	163

* A further 30 applications were funded for non-school organizations.

Table 2: Distribution of Schools in the Sample According to Ethnic Density

Ethnic Density	Schools (Expressed as % of n)	
	State (n=91)	Catholic (n=32)
Low	65.0	17.2
Medium	24.6	38.0
High	8.7	38.0
Very High	1.7	6.8

Table 3: Multicultural Outcomes Identified by Grantees (N=163)

Multicultural Outcomes	Absolute Frequency*	Relative Frequency
1. LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT		
Community Languages	15	9.2
English as a Second Language	8	4.9
International Languages	8	4.9
2. CULTURAL AWARENESS		
Awareness of Own Culture	41	25.2
Awareness of Other Cultures	125	76.7
3. CULTURAL APPRECIATION	8	4.9

* Some grantees identified more than one project outcome

Table 4: Delivery Formats Chosen by Grantees (N=163)

Delivery Format	Absolute Frequency*	Relative Frequency
Books	100	61.3
Non-Print Material	107	65.6
Equipment	10	6.1
Salaries	6	3.7
Events	44	27.0

* Some grantees identified more than a single format

Table 5: Grantees' Perceptions of their Programs' Levels of Use (N = 163)

Level of Use	Frequency (%)
Greater than anticipated	19.2
As expected	44.9
Less than expected	13.5
Not sure	10.3
No use	3.2

* 9% of grantees did not think this question was applicable to their project